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FAMILIA GOLIÆ.

Under the above title, Professor Manly adduces a new reason (*Modern Philology* 5. 201-9) for associating the term *Goliardi* with the Biblical name *Goliath*—namely, that in a sermon ascribed to St. Augustine, but really by Cæsarius of Arles (469-542), Goliath is made the type of the devil, not merely as ‘the symbol of titanic and ruthless power,’ but as ‘the type of spiritual wickedness, the leader in this present life of the army of evil ones’; and that, as a portion of this sermon was read once a year at the Second Nocturn of the Fourth Sunday after Pentecost, the minds of churchmen would have been prepared to apply the phrase *familia Goliæ* ‘as a term of reproach to the vagabond and recreant clerics of the Middle Ages.’

The portion of the sermon from which the preceding inferences are drawn is virtually comprised in these words: ‘*Quadráginta dies . . . vitam præsentem significant, in qua contra Goliath vel exercitum ejus, id est, contra diabolum et angelos ejus, Christianorum populus pugnare non desinit.*’ Goliath’s army consists, therefore, of his angels, so that one does not quite see that ‘the army of evil ones’ would necessarily, on this ground alone, be a natural designation for ‘the vagabond and recreant clerics of the Middle Ages.’ Moreover, Professor Manly has not been able to determine at how early a date the sermon in question was drawn upon for the Lessons of that Second Nocturn; and therefore seems to feel that his argument is, for this reason, slightly deficient in cogency.

My object in this paper is to support the contention of Professor Manly by adducing some additional evidence of the same general tenor.

Ephrem Syrus died about ninety years before Cæsarius was born, and Ephrem Syrus, in one of his Syriac works, has a passage which is much to our purpose. His Syriac has thus been translated into Latin (*Opera*, Rome, 1737, 1. 367): ‘*Et quemadmodum David fere ubique Christum re-*

præsentat, ita hoc loco Goliath diaboli personam gerit. Quadráginta ergo dies, quibus contra Dei populum terroribus ac minis dimicavit, designant tempus quo diabolus genus humanum oppugnavit, non vi nec armis, sed *arte sua alliciendo, terrendo, ac decipiendo*, donec ad singulare illud certamen ventum est, in quo a Christo primum in deserto post quadráginta ejus secessus dies, deinde in monte Calvario in fine dispensationis suæ victus et prostratus fuit.’ Here the italicized words are important by reason of their possible application to the Goliards.

Augustine himself (ca. 354-430) touches more than once on the story. Thus (*Enarr. in Ps. 33: Patr. Lat. 36. 302*) he makes Goliath a type of the devil, and adds: ‘*Humilitas occidit superbiam.*’¹ In another place (*Patr. Lat. 37. 1858*) he applies the cutting off of Goliath’s head by his own sword to the destruction of the works of the devil by those who had formerly been his followers, but who now had been converted to Christianity. Compare also 38. 196-206.

The Greek Father, Theodoret († ca. 458), says that, just as the sword of Goliath cut off his own head, so when the devil had succeeded in crucifying Christ, that very crucifixion put an end to his despotism (*Patr. Gr. 1. 568*).

Gregory the Great, in his *Moralia* (on Job 27. 16, 17), makes Goliath stand for the pride of heretics—‘*Golias vero hæreticorum superbiam signans*’ (*Patr. Lat. 76. 50*). This again may point forward to the recreant clerics. Incidentally, it may be noted that Augustine already employs the form *Golias* (*Goliæ, Goliām*), as Gregory does here, and as their successors do in a majority of the instances I have noted.

Isidore of Seville says (*Patr. Lat. 83. 113*): ‘*Golias designat diabolum, cujus elevationis superbiam Christi prostravit humilitas.*’ The pride of heretics above; the pride of the devil here.

Bede, in his commentary on I Samuel, chap.

¹ As late as Bernard of Clairvaux (*Patr. Lat. 183. 334*), Goliath designates the vice of pride. It may be noted that Superbia is a confident warrior in Prudentius, *Psych. 178 ff.*

17 (*Works*, ed. Giles, 8. 89 ff.) is full of matter germane to our theme. Thus, on v. 4, the camp of the Philistines is the hearts of the wicked, from which the devil daily goes forth to rebel against God. If the name Goliath be interpreted as *transmigrans*, then if this verb be taken in an active sense, it denotes the activity of the devil in transferring all those who follow him from the Land of Promise to the land of perdition. The Vulgate calls Goliath *spurius*, by a misinterpretation of the Hebrew word which applies to the interspace between the two armies. This *spurius* means, according to Bede, that Goliath was born of an ignoble father, but a noble mother. This, again, might be thought to apply to those Goliard clerks who, sprung from the bosom of Holy Church, were yet bastard sons, inasmuch as they were not true to the mother who bore them; though, of course, Bede knows nothing of these Goliards.

Again, the various pieces of Goliath's defensive armor are to Bede various sorts of arguments or arguers whereby diabolical folly is defended. The devil protects his head when, although damned, he does not hesitate to announce himself as God. He protects his body when he puts it into the heart of the wicked to invent excuses for their evil deeds. All this defensive armor is made of brass, the most sonorous of metals, 'quia sive opera nefanda, seu dogma perversum, non invictæ veritatis agnita ratione, *sed fabulosa dulcedine consuevit eloquentiæ defendere secularis*.' Might not this have been subsequently turned against the Goliards, when we consider the vogue of Bede's works in the Middle Ages?

On v. 7 Bede continues—and its pertinence to our discussion will be evident: 'Namque opus quidem eorum quos adversus ecclesiam diabolus ad certamen profert, quasi ad texendum justitiæ et sanctitatis indumentum, oculis insipientium videtur aptissimum. *Ipsum autem acumen dicendi non aliquid ultra mundi hujus, qui sex ætatibus perstat, terminos intueri ac dicere novit. Qui cum tanti sint ingenii, ut possint æstimare seculum, Creatorem tamen ejus invenire nesciunt. . . . Et sicut in Psalmo centesimo quadagesimo tertio [Ps. 144. 8], qui proprie adversus Goliath scribitur, victor ejusdem Goliath Psalmista testatur: Quorum os locutum est vanitatem, et dextera eorum dextera iniquitatis.*'

Bede goes on to point out the pride which is an attribute of the devil, and to make David prefigure Christ. He adds (v. 23): 'Apparuit hostis antiquus ex impiorum præcordiis ascendens, et per actiones linguasque eorum nefarias malitiæ suæ superbæ contra electos, quod et hodie facit, venena dira jaculans.'

Another significant passage is the following (v. 43): 'Maledicit et per hæreticos corpori veri David in diis suis, *cum fictos de corde suo ac pessimo igni conflatos sensus, evangelicæ veritati præponere docet*; qui etiam carnalia docentes, spiritualium dicta vel acta præsumant se posse convincere. Talia magis gentilium superbis philosophis, vel barbaris quibusdam—his enim volucres cæli, ac bestię terræ, possunt decentissima significatione conferri—quam ecclesiasticæ eruditioni et humilitati congruere.'

Finally, two other extracts, on vv. 49 and 51 respectively, will illustrate the same theory of Bede's, according to which—in this respect resembling Ephrem Syrus—the power of the devil and his adherents is regarded as consisting in eloquence and cajolery, and its devilishness in its falseness: 'Percussus autem lapide cecidit in terram gigas; quia pulsatus Dei verbo *diabolicus error*, nequaquam celsus, ut multo ante tempore jactabat, et cælestis, sed terrenus fuisse innotuit, et infimus.'

'Sed et nos cum hæreticorum vesaniæ disputando occurrentes, non aliis quam his quæ ipsi ad nos reducendos proposuerant, vel argumentationum probamentis, vel testimoniis Scripturarum convinimus, eos *fabricatores mendacii*, et cultores esse perversorum dogmatum; gigantis profecto proterviam suo ense dejicimus.'

Rabanus Maurus, in one passage (*Patr. Lat.* 111. 58) merely considers Goliath as standing for the devil. Another passage (109. 52–3) is more important, since it rehearses some of the significant ideas presented above: 'Convertunt linguas suas contra diabolum, et sic Goliæ de gladio suo caput inciditur. (*Ex Gregorio.*) Item vir certa fide plenus, quæ sanctis solet ad justitiam computari, et ipsa Scripturæ sacræ, quæ hæreticus affert, testimonia colligit, et erroris ejus pertinaciam inde convincit. Contra nos namque dum sacræ Legis testimonia adportant, secum nobis afferunt unde vincantur. Unde et David typum Domini, qui videlicet *fortis manu* interpretatur; Goliath vero,

revelatus sive *transmigrans*, hæreticorum superbiam signans, hoc rebus locuti sunt quod nos verbis aperimus. Goliath quippe cum gladio, David vero cum pera pastorali venit ad prælium. Sed eundem Goliath David superans, suo occidit gladio. Quod nos quoque agimus, qui promissi David membra ex ejus fieri dignatione meruimus: nam superbientes hæreticos et sacræ Scripturæ sententias deferentes, eisdem verbis atque sententiis quas proferunt vincimus.²

One of the chief intermediaries between the earlier and the later Middle Ages, so far as Biblical commentary went, was Walafrid Strabo. In his *Glossa Ordinaria* (*Patr. Lat.* 113. 536-7), which, according to the Benedictine authors of the *Histoire Littéraire de la France* (9. 21), represented to the twelfth century the complete understanding of Scripture, and from which, according to no less an authority than M. Samuel Berger, the greater part of the thirteenth century commentary on the French Bible is drawn (see Male, *L'Art Religieux en France au XIII^e Siècle*, p. 187), has the following: 'Goliath vero superbiam diaboli significat. . . . Christus diabolum de suis membris occidit quando crediderunt magi quos ille in manu habebat, et de quibus alios trucidabat, convertentes linguas suas contra diabolum, et sic Goliath gladio suo caput abscindunt.'

There was, therefore, no lack of means for making the clergy of the Middle Ages acquainted with the character attributed with general consistency to Goliath from the fourth century on. That the name and deeds of the giant were familiar throughout the mediæval period is indicated by Dante's allusions (*Mon.* 2. 10. 86-7 Moore; *Ep.* 7. 178-183); by Chaucer's (*Man of Law's Tale* 934)

O Goliath, unmesurable of length;

by the *Goliath* (*Goli*, *Goly*) of the *Cursor Mundi* (7443, 7553, 7575, 7577); and by the frequent use of the name to designate Saracen warriors in

the Carolingian epic.³ The spelling *Goliath* is found as late as Shakespeare (*I Hen.* VI 1. 2. 33), side by side with *Goliath* (*M. W.* 5. 1. 23).

Familia is not an uncommon word in the Middle Ages to designate a monastic community. Thus Æthelbald of Mercia (A. D. 747) makes a gift (Kemble, *Cod. Dipl.* 1. 116) 'Mildredæ religiosæ abbatissæ ejusque venerabili familiæ quæ una cum ea conversatur in insula Thænet' (similarly 1. 117). So Cynewulf of Mercia (1. 125) 'familiæ Christi in Maldubiensi monasterio constitutæ.' Cf. 1. 129, 182, 230. Oswald (963) makes a gift (2. 398) 'familiæ Wiogornensis ecclesiæ.' The corresponding term in Old English was *hired* (sometimes *hiwan*, plur.). Thus, Wulfstan 184. 26-7: 'æt ælcan tidsange eal *hired* æpenedum limum ætforan Godes weofode singe pone sealm'; cf. *Cod. Dipl.* 2. 3 (line 36).

It would be desirable to ascertain with more certainty the date of the *Constitution* attributed by Mansi (*Conc.* 18. 324) to Gautier of Sens († 913): 'Statuimus quod clerici ribaldi, maxime qui dicuntur de familiæ Goliath,' etc. It is usually assumed that this date is much too early; but Chambers, *Med. Stage*, 1. 61, seems inclined to attach some weight to Mansi's attribution.

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VILLONIANA.

The facetious legacy in verse does not rank high in the list of even the minor genres: except Villon, one can hardly name an important poet who has made use of it.¹ The fact is the more

³ Thus *Pèl. de Charl.* 424; *Charroi de Nîmes* 518; *Prise d'Orange* 346, etc.; *Aliscans* 3965, etc.; *Prise de Cordres* 1162; *Enfances Vivien* 510 (all ca. 1160-1200); then *Garin le Loherain* 625 (Tartar name); *Anseis de Carthage* 2480, etc.; *Henri de Metz* 8780; *Octavian* 1311, etc.; *Maugis d'Aigremont* 1766; etc., etc. I owe these references to the kindness of my colleague, Professor Frederick M. Warren.

¹ The list, however, includes Jean Bodel, Adam de la Halle, Jean de Meung, Eustache Deschamps, William Dunbar, with his *Testament of Andro Kennedy*, and Jean Regnier, author of the *Livre de la Prison*, printed in 1526.

² Cf. Chrysostom, *Hom.* 38 on *First Corinthians* (on v. 3): 'Seest thou how nothing is weaker than error? And how it is taken by its own wings, and needs not the warfare from without, but by itself it is pierced through? Consider, for instance, these men, how they too have pierced themselves through by their own statements.'